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#### THE

# AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST.

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#### THE REMAINS OF DON FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

BY W J MCGEE.

#### INTRODUCTION.

Francisco Pizarro, discoverer of Peru and founder of its capital, the ancient "City of the Kings," is a conspicuous figure in the history of the American hemisphere. Son of a soldier, a stripling in sunny Seville when Columbus returned from the most momentous voyage the world has ever known and when Spain held the balance of power among nations, his life was molded by the inspiration of conquest. Endowed with remarkable physical vigor and mental activity and fired by the burning ambition of the Iberia of his day, he rose among his fellows and early became a leader of men. His indomitable will brooked no defeat: fortified by the fierce spirit of the times, he rose above all obstacles by individual prowess, and many episodes in his career were inscribed in blood. Measured by the standard of his age, he was a conquering hero, worthy the admiration of mankind.

Born about 1471, Pizarro already held place in the New World in 1510, when he participated in the expedition of Ojeda and was placed in charge of the ill-fated settlement of San Sebastian; he afterward accompanied Balboa to Darien, and thus contributed to the discovery of the Pacific. In 1522 his dream of conquest in the half-fabulous earlier El Dorado among the Andes took shape; but it was not until 1527 that he saw the shores of Peru, and five years more passed before he, with his companion Almagro, actually entered the land of the Incas. Although he came with the power and prestige of Spain as "Governor and Captain-General of New Castile," terrible hardships were endured

before the actual invasion commenced, his experience with thirteen followers on the island of Gallo without ship or stores being an epic of tragedy; and terrible dangers and privations were experienced later, as when, on the headwaters of the Amazon, starving Spaniards were carried on the shoulders of their tireless leader. The conquest of Peru was bloody, and some of the leading acts in the shifting scenes are seen through the mist of years as base treachery and horrible atrocity; for to this degree have times changed and manners softened since Pizarro brought a new culture and the Christian cult to replace the culture and cult of Manco Capac and Mama Huaco.

The career of Pizarro as the foremost Spaniard in South America was not long. In 1535 he founded Lima; Almagro extended conquest into Chile; but dissension soon arose, and when Almagro the Lad succeeded his father, sedition followed. Pizarro was now old; yet when beset by assassins and deserted by his men, he rushed half-armed and alone to the battle, with defiance on his lips, and went down with his face to the foe only when overpowered by numbers. The pent up bitterness against a harsh commander then burst forth and spent itself in indignities upon the lifeless body.

A few hours after the assassination the remains were taken up and given temporary burial in consecrated ground. Then follows a hiatus in the written historical record; but the ecclesiastical authorities soon assumed charge of the body, and so the traditional history is complete for centuries, and the casket, identified by successive generations of church officers, has been carefully guarded as one of the most precious possessions in the Cathedral of Lima.

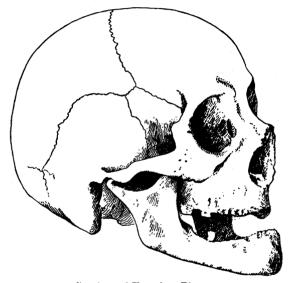
The three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Pizarro's death was recently signalized in Lima; and under joint action by the municipal and ecclesiastical authorities, a critical examination of the mummified body was undertaken with the double view of identification and anthropometric characterization. The examination was intrusted to a commission, by whom a full report was prepared and published in a municipal bulletin.\* This report embraces a historical account of the assassination of Pizarro,†

<sup>\*</sup>Boletin Municipal, Lima, Peru, July 25, 1891, pp. viii-xvi.

<sup>†</sup>This part of the document appears also in "Monografias Historico-Americanas," por E. Larrabure y Unanue, Lima: 1893, pp. 341-355.

introduced for the purpose of completing the identification. It will be noted that the identification resulting from this examination closes the hiatus in the historical record immediately following the death of Pizarro, to the full satisfaction of the commission and probably to the satisfaction of all. Thus, students of anthropometry are afforded a noteworthy opportunity of juxtaposing the biographic record and biologic characters of one of the world's leaders in thought and action.

It is not the purpose to discuss here the relations suggested by the juxtaposition—the report of the commission is simply



Cranium of Francisco Pizarro.

put on record, partly to suggest and stimulate study, partly to give it permanent place in the scientific literature of our language. But it may be well to note in passing the remarkable character of the mummied skull, viewed in the light of modern anthropology, especially that of recent work in criminology in Italy and elsewhere. In prognathism, in the general conformation of the cranium, in the breadth and fullness of the basal and occipital regions of the brain-case, in the fossa of Lombroso, in all other important respects, the head is that of the typical criminal of to-day. This will be no surprise to modern students

of the conquest of America who, dominated by the refined sensibilities of enlightenment, follow the bloody career of the conqueror with pain and revulsion; it will be disappointing, perhaps incredible, to the hero-worshipers of our southern continent. Yet it is to be remembered that in this age of human progress, minds and manners are changing with unprecedented rapidity, and that the quality of greatness is not what it was even in the middle of our millennium; the hero of history in earlier centuries is of rugged mold, and the heroism of the olden time is the crime of our softened lexicon. So Pizarro may well be judged as the representative of a class necessary and good in its age but not adjusted to the higher humanities of the present day.

Acknowledgments are due to Señor Manuel Antonio Muñiz, M. D., surgeon-general of the Peruvian army, for the document reproduced below and for photographs of mummy and cranium; to Mr. J. L. Ridgway for the accompanying drawing of the cranium from one of the photographs; to Miss Nora Thomas for a studious translation of the report published by the commission; and to Dr. Frank Baker for revision of the manuscript and proof.

#### "THE BODY OF PIZARRO AND ITS IDENTITY.

"Record of the Removal of the Remains of the Conqueror of Peru and Founder of Lima, Don Francisco Pizarro."

"In Lima, at 10 o'clock a.m. of Wednesday, June 24, 1891, assembled in the crypt of the Cathedral beneath the high altar: the Alcalde of the Provincial Council of Lima, Señor Don Juan Revoredo; the Municipal Commission, composed of Señors Dr. Manuel Aurelio Fuentes and Don Froylan Miranda; the Corresponding Members of the Royal Spanish Academy of History, Señors Don Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue, Don José Antonio de Lavalle, and Don Ricardo Palma; the Illustrious Dean of the Chapter, Monseñor Dr. Don Manuel Tovar; the Special Commission of Dignitaries of the said Chapter, composed of Señors Dr. Don Julio Zárate, Precentor, Dr. Don Faustino Mendez, Curator, and Dr. Don Cárlos García Irigoyen, Secretary; various other gentlemen, canons of the Chapter, members of the Council of Lima, and notable persons; also the undersigned, commis-

sioned by order of the Alcaldia to make an anthropological examination of the remains of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, Conqueror of Peru and founder of the city of Lima, to wit: Doctors of Medicine, Don José Anselmo de los Rios, leading Professor of the Faculty of Medicine of Lima and Director of the Municipal Chemical Laboratory; and Don Manuel Antonio Muñiz, Assistant Professor of the same Faculty, Physician of the Hospital for the Insane, and Chief Surgeon of the army.

"The Dean pointed out the place where the remains of the founder of Lima were deposited. On opening the iron-barred wooden doors closing a longitudinal niche in the left wall, there appeared a casket of ordinary wood, painted black. The cloth which covered it was then raised, disclosing a mummified body which, by the unanimous declaration of the members there present, represented the remains of Don Francisco Pizarro, preserved here since the founding of the Cathedral, and whose authenticity and identity were established by unquestioned tradition extending over many years and by the constant care exercised during all this time by the Ecclesiastical Chapter.

"The coffin was removed to the Chapel of the Kings [Capilla de los Reyes] in the Cathedral and there opened, revealing a body almost completely mummified, partly covered by vestiges of clothing, which were limited to the upper and back parts of the body.

"The blessing of the tomb and case in which the body was to be finally placed having been completed, the undersigned proceeded with their anthropological examination and record, with the aid of instruments of precision and in conformity with scientific rules.

"The body was lying supine in the casket, rigid, completely desiccated and mummified, of a light brown color similar to that of Peruvian mummies. At first glance the following facts were observed, viz., the absence of the hands, of the skin and soft parts of certain regions, of the genital organs, of the soft parts of the perineum and superior and internal regions of the thighs, etc., as will be specified in detail under each region.

"The body was stripped, save that there was preserved a wrapping of common cloth on the inferior part of the left knee. The fragments of clothing being carefully removed, the body was placed on a table prepared for the purpose.

"The pieces of clothing, on being examined in detail, were found to consist of: (1) the relics of a short cassock of black silk, of which there remained all of the back part, the left sleeve in fragments, and a part of the left front with a hemispherical button of black silk; fastened to the girdle were short skirts of the same material, completely separated one from the other and 12 or 15 centimeters [4\frac{1}{4} to 5\frac{1}{4} inches] in length; (2) a fragment of fine white stuff which, from the traces of embroidery and needlework, is supposed to have formed part of an inner garment like a shirt; (3) some other pieces of material of different kinds, one small one being of very fine black twilled wool, others being more or less coarse, whose use could not be determined."

## "A-External Examination of the Cadaver.

"The head, trunk and lower extremities formed one solid mass, remarkable in the rigidity and immobility of articulations of the hip, knee and ankle, as well as those of the vertebræ with one another and with the cranium.

"The skin, adherent, hard and resistant, was intact over a great part of the trunk. Its color varied, being lighter at the back, that of the fore part being very similar to the skin of the mummies of Peruvian Indians. It was destroyed in some places by insects, remains of these appearing. Not the least trace or indication of the pilary system was found on any part of the body.

"The muscular layer had completely lost its volume, and appeared of a very dark chocolate color, its fibers resistant longitudinally, being closely united to the skin. The adipose tissue had disappeared. The structure of vessels and tendons could be clearly traced. The osseous tissue had not lost its physical and chemical properties; many of the bones retained vestiges of their periosteum.

"The head was firmly and solidly attached to the trunk not only by the occipito-vertebral articulations, of which the ligaments remained, but also by the insertion of the muscles of the region of the nape into the rugosities and curved lines of the occipital. It was necessary to separate the head, preserving its relations and the soft tissues so that the divided portions might afterward be reunited.

"The head was found almost completely covered by integument; the trifling deficiency in the frontal and occipital regions

being referable to mortification of the tissues during life, giving rise to rapid putrefaction. The face was almost entirely devoid of flesh. Why did not the skin and fleshy parts of the face and cranium become mummified like the greater part of the body? The reason is clear, and applies also to some other portions of the body—it is evident that the skin and flesh of the head suffered some influences (wounds, contusions, loss of blood) which hastened the decay in these places before the general effects of mummification were felt.

"The left orbit was entirely empty, the termination of the ophthalmic artery being visible at the bottom. The right orbit contained near the bottom a small sac with a circular orifice in the center of its anterior face, attached to the bottom of the cavity by a small dried muscular tendon; on careful examination this proved to be the iris and sclerotic intact, supported in place by the internal rectus muscle.

"The pericranium being removed, the cranial vault was found to be smooth and homogeneous, presenting no fractures or breaks of continuity. The sutures of the cranial bones were in the main effaced by synostosis, it being noticeable that the synostosis was more advanced toward the posterior region. There were no vestiges of the occipito-temporal sutures nor of the lambdoidal suture, which usually disappear at from 40 to 45 years of age. The obelion and the entire sagittal suture (46 to 50 years) were also obliterated. The squamous suture, somewhat effaced in its posterior part, was distinct in the remainder. The obliteration of this suture begins to be marked at 70 years of age and is definitely completed at 80. The sutures of the pterion (after 40 years) had completely disappeared. The coronal suture (50 years) was yet perceptible, especially on the left side. There remained no vestiges of the metopic suture.

"Nothing of particular interest appeared in the external conformation of the skull except the remarkable development of the superciliary arches and of the glabella. The parietal eminences were well marked. Nothing notable was observed in the lateral faces of the skull. At the base attention was particularly attracted by the perfectly distinct medio-occipital fossa of Lombroso, which was deep and clearly marked.

"The sutures of the bones of the face showed nothing remark-

able. There was little else of particular note anatomically except the depth of the palatine arch and the perfect preservation of the vomer and the turbinate bones. The diminution of the volume of the inferior maxillary was noticeable. The mental protuberance was considerably advanced beyond the plane of the face, producing marked prognathism. The alveolar border of the bone had been absorbed, diminishing somewhat the height of its body.

"Taking into account the situation of the superior alveolar arch, the cranium may be considered as prognathous [progeno].

"At present there exist no fragments of teeth; but at the time of death there existed in the inferior maxillary the second left incisor, the two canines, and the first and fourth molars of the left side; in the superior maxillary, the left canine, the fourth left molar, and the second and fourth molars of the right side. The appearance, color, and state of preservation of the respective sockets indicate that these teeth became detached at different periods.

"All the anterior and lateral tissues of the neck had entirely disappeared. There remained only the vertebral skeleton with its ligaments and some muscular fragments on its anterior face, where a complete separation was readily observed between the bodies of the sixth and seventh cervical vertebræ; the color and appearance prove the antiquity of this separation, which might well date back to, or shortly after, the period of death. The left aspect of the vertebral column offered nothing remarkable, and the transverse processes, the articulations, and the lateral foramina were entirely covered by the remains of muscles or muscular and ligamentous insertions in such a way that the bony surfaces were not visible. This was not the case on the right side; the transverse processes, the articulations, and foramina of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth vertebræ were wholly visible, exposed, smooth, lacking the periosteum, with an exterior aspect and coloration, which were tangible proof that the destruction of the soft parts covering and inserted upon these bony surfaces, took place more rapidly than the destruction of the soft parts of the left side. Undoubtedly upon this right side a double phenomenon occurred, which alone can explain the more rapid putrefaction of this side than the other; there must have existed here some liquid substance susceptible of decomposition, together with solution of continuity of the skin and soft parts which permitted its effusion. Only the coexistence of these two conditions can explain the more rapid cadaveric putrefaction of this region before the general process of mummification took effect, as in the rest of the body and on the left side. There must have been during life a traumatism on the right side of the neck at the height of the vertebræ before mentioned, which caused a division of the skin and soft parts and produced an extensive loss of blood. Under the anatomical conditions of this region, this wound must have been mortal, because it necessarily divided some of the larger arteries of the region. All of the posterior portion of the neck is perfectly preserved, the skin as well as the muscles of the nape that are inserted in the surfaces and rugose lines of the occipital.

"The trunk was covered by the skin, with the exception of all of the upper and left part of the anterior surface of the thorax, on which the soft parts also were lacking, the periosteum being here uncovered, as well as a small portion of the fourth rib at its articulation with the sternum, and a considerable portion of the first three ribs. At this point there was rapid decay and no mummification. The skin of the back was very well preserved. forming peculiar folds on the upper and lateral regions, and especially on the inferior (gluteal) region, proving the amplitude of the integument, which had become folded before death because of the development of adipose tissue. With the exception of certain small orifices made by insects, there was not throughout the back part of the trunk any break of continuity. The abdominal wall also showed some orifices made by insects, but there were no traces of wounds. The navel was distinct; and the adherence of the skin and muscular layers was so complete that the direction of the fibers of the different deep muscles could be seen. The skin was darker over the anterior portion. genital organs were entirely wanting; not the least trace of them existed. The genital and perineal regions, the regions of the superior and internal surfaces of both thighs contiguous to the perineum had entirely disappeared, leaving only shapeless remains of dried muscles. Here, then (as in the left side of the neck), something exceptional must have occurred immediately after death, as shown by the failure of mummification of this region and by the absence of traces of cutting or destruction posterior to the mummification.

"The left arm was slightly separated from the thoracic cage, leaving the axillary cavity somewhat exposed. The shoulder joint was separated, but this occurred much later than the period of death. The deltoid and other muscular fibers were visible. The superficial fascia of the back part of the arm was present. The elbow was semi-flexed and the forearm was pronated. The joint of the elbow was completely covered, but though the interosseous ligaments were in good preservation, the skin and muscular layers of the forearm were wanting; here also there seems to have been rapid decay. The ulna and radius were in good condition. The carpus was entirely gone, also the metacarpus and phalanges, while distinct and quite recent traces appear of artificial cutting or tearing of the ligaments and other tissues constituting the articulation of the carpus.

"The right arm was in a better condition. The articulation of the shoulder was covered with the skin, which was continuous with that of the trunk on this side. The arm, which was intact, had the skin normally preserved. The elbow was not covered; the head of the radius was observed to be disarticulated, and among the remains of the muscles there was a peculiar coloration, differing from the proper color of muscle, which appeared to have been produced by decomposed and altered blood previous to the effects of putrefaction, this disarticulation and the discontinuity of the skin being apparently contemporaneous with the period of death. The carpus, metacarpus and fingers had also been violently severed or torn, leaving indisputable traces in the coloration of the articular surface and in the sections of the ligaments that some of these mutilations were quite recent.

"The hip, knee, ankle and tarso-metatarsal joints were extended, completely rigid and immovable, and covered by the skin. The integument and the muscular layer were wanting in the superior and internal parts of both hips, and normally preserved in the remaining parts. In the inferior and posterior part of the left hip there appeared a lesion and diffusion of decomposed blood. Both legs were denuded, especially the left. The size of the knee joints, which were entirely covered by the

skin, was considerable in both limbs, being abnormal and pathological. The tendon of Achilles was well marked and intact in both limbs. Both feet were in extreme extension, and an exaggerated height of the insteps (tarso-metatarsal articulations) was noticeable. Both were covered by skin, intact and well preserved, but the left foot lacked the last metatarsal bone and all the toes except the first phalanges of the fourth and fifth, which remained; and on the right foot all the toes were wanting except the fifth. The phalanges and entire toes appeared to have been removed by violence, the time at which this occurred being relatively recent."

## "B-Examination of the Interior of the Body.

"The internal organs, as in every mummified body, were transformed into a dark-brown powder, dry, with a peculiar odor, and in the cavities of the trunk this was found to be abundantly mixed with pellets of lime, which were very numerous; these cannot be ascribed to the loosening of the substance from the walls of the niche in which the corpse was deposited, since they were not laminar; they must, therefore, be attributed to the presence of this matter in direct contact with the body during the primary inhumation. This seems the more probable, since it has been proved that certain hygroscopic soils, rich in arsenic and lime, and containing a peculiar fungus recently discovered, are the substances most suitable for mummification.

"The cerebral matter had been converted into a pulverulent, coffee-colored substance containing bits of spongy matter (remains of the pia mater). The meninges were intact, in their natural relations and insertions, though it was necessary to sever them in order to facilitate the measurement of the cranial capacity. The spinal column was found to be in good condition.

"In the thoracic cavity the pleura was observed to be quite distinct, especially in the mediastinum, though there remained no vestiges of the heart or large blood-vessels. The diaphragm was complete, also the urinary bladder, the only organ remaining in the abdominal cavity. The skin and subjacent tissues were wanting in various portions of the left iliac and inguinal regions."

# "C-Anthropometric Examination of the Cadaver.

## "I. SKELETON.

"1. Skeleton.		
Length of skeleton, before and after preparation	1.637 m.	
"II. Cranium.		
a.—Capacity and Weight.		
Capacity, measured by the water method (approximate) 1715 Class, megacephalic.  Weight (after emptying cavity and removing skin, ligaments and exterior parts)	cub. cent.  955 gram.	
$bLinear\  extit{Measurements}\ (rectilinear).$		
Diameter, maximum longitudinal	189 mm.	
" transverse	157	
Cephalic index (transverse longitudinal)	83.11	
Class, hyper-brachycephalic.	00.1	
Diameter, maximum transverse frontal	130 mm.	
" minimum " "	104 <sup>1</sup>	
" transverse occipital	121	
" antero-posterior, through inion	187	
" antero-posterior, metopic	182	
" basio-bregmatic (maximum height)	147	
" bi-auricular	147	
" interparietal	154	
<u> </u>		
pi-mastoidai	129	
bi-temporal	141	
bi-stephanic	125	
bi-asteric	125	
bi-zygomatic	136	
of orbit, maximum transverse	41	
or orbit, infilinging (neight of orbit)	40	
Orbital index	$97.5^{2}$	
Class, megaseme.		
Interorbital distance	$21  \mathrm{mm}.$	
Depth of orbit	42	
Nasio-subnasal line	60	
Length of nasal bones	26	
Width of nares	25	
Nasal index	73.5	
· – •		

<sup>[</sup>¹ Printed figures corrected by Dr. Manuel A. Muñiz.] [² Computed by W J M.; given in print as 100.]

Maximum diameter of foramen magnum	32 mm.
Minimum " " "	28
Index of foramen magnum	87.51
Length of palatal arch	50 mm.
Width of " "	44
Nasio-basilar distance	107
Nasio-frontal "	61
Nasio-portical "	135
Nasio-vertical "	155
Nasio-lambdoidal "	189
Distance from nasion to extremity of maximum fronto-occip-	
ital diameter	187
" [from nasion] to external occipital protuberance	182
" from alveolar point to basion	92
" from basion to border of forehead	134
" from basion to nasion	101
Basio-lambdoidal distance	118
Distance from basion to external occipital protuberance	88
Bi-orbital distance, external	118
" internal	$27^{-2}$
Bi-malar distance	112
Bi-jugal distance	114
Total altitude of face	161
Distance from a plane tangent at bregma to root of nose	82
" from inferior edge of nasal bones to anterior nasal	
spine	34
" from anterior nasal spine to superior alveolar border.	23
c. Circumferences and Curves.	
Maximum horizontal circumference	548
Longitudinal circumference (nasion, bregma and basio-alve-	
olar)	580
Sub-cerebral curve	45
Sagittal curve	16
Transverse interparietal circumference	510
Bi-auricular circumference	364
Super-occipital curve	68
Total occipital "	123
Super-auricular "	170
Pre-auricular "	140
Occipito-frontal "	390
Total frontal "	150
Total transversal "	510

<sup>[</sup>¹ Computed by W J M.; given in print as 81.8.]
[² Stricken out of printed measurements by Dr. Muñiz.]

# d. Angles.

Facial angle (after Cuvier)	71°	
"III. INFERIOR MAXILLARY.		
Weight of mandible	47 gram.	
a. Lines: bi-condyloid length	128 mm.	
mental length	43	
bi-gonian length	98	
Height of symphysis	30	
" " molar	19	
Length of ascending ramus	60	
Width " " "	30	
Gonio-symphyseal distance	90	
Distance from condyloid to coronoid process	39	
b. Curve: bi-gonian	191	
c. Mandibular angle	130°	
C. Mandibular angle	100	
"IV. TRUNK.		
Maximum circumference	820 mm.	
Minimum "	780	
Length of sternum	211	
Distance from seventh cervical vertebra to coccyx	605	
Bi-humeral distance	364	
Bi-acromial "	334	
Distance from navel to pubic symphysis	159	
Bi-trochanterian distance	313	
Distance between superior-anterior iliac spines	272	
The second secon		
"V. Limbs.		
Left humerus	315	
Left radius	252	
Left ulna	267	
Right humerus	315	
Right radius	248	
Right ulna[sic; 263 ?]	283	
Femur (both sides)	415	
Distance from middle popliteal plane to eminence of inferior		
surface of calcaneum	450	
Length of remaining portion of right foot	232	
" " left "	231	
Greater circumference of left foot	220	
" "right"	240	

#### "D—Deductions.

- "From this examination it may be deduced:
- "1. That the body examined was inhumed in a soil artificially charged with lime;
- "2. That the stature, measured directly on the body, is 1 meter 673 millimeters. Applying the different tables of existing statures (Orfila), it is found that a humerus of 31 cm. corresponds to a height of 1.67 m.; a radius of 24 centimeters, to a height of 167 m., etc.; so that the height of 1.673 m. in this body is corroborated by the tables of reconstruction. This stature, according to the classification of Topinard, is comprehended in the group "above the medium;"
  - "3. That the age of the decedent was more than 70 years;
- "4. That the body belongs to the masculine sex, as shown by the significant characters of the cranium, pelvis, femur, etc., which without exception correspond to this sex, as well as by its exterior aspect and the absence of mammæ;
- "5. That the individual appears to have belonged to a superior (white) race;
- "6. That, notwithstanding the complete mummification, there are distinct signs of decomposition, due probably to putrefaction of some parts of the body (right side of neck, upper and left part of thorax, left forearm, etc.) which very possibly correspond to wounds (one mortal) received during life;
- "7. That the examination of this body demonstrates the existence of certain individual abnormalities—inferior prognathism, depth of the palatal arch, existence of the middle occipital fossa of Lombroso, extraordinary diameter of the instep, etc."
- "The anthropometric examination completed, the body was entirely cleaned by several successive applications of a saturated alcoholic solution of bichloride of mercury, and after the last was absorbed, a coat of carbolized glycerine was applied.
- "The head was re-attached to the trunk; the skin of the lower and posterior part of the neck, which had been divided in the examination of the cranium, was stitched; the remaining tissues were also united at all points where they had been severed by cadaveric putrefaction; the occipito-cervical articulation, as

also the humero-scapular articulation of the left side, were respectively strengthened by means of copper wires against the contiguous ribs and the clavicle; the thoracic and abdominal cavities were filled with carbolized cotton, as was the pelvic cavity, the artificial opening made in the perineal region; the through cranial cavity having been previously filled with the same substance after impregnating the adhering flesh at the base of the cranium first with oxychloride of zinc and then with anhydrous sulphate of lime to dry it. The skull separately, as well as the entire body, was photographed in different positions before being placed in the coffin.

"All of the surfaces (skin, bones, etc.) were varnished with a superfine varnish, and the cotton wherever exposed was impregnated with essential oil of sandal [aceite esencial de sándalo citrino].

"The body was then arranged in a wooden coffin, lined with black cloth, with a glass lid, the lower extremities being bound to the casket by means of black cords. The lid was closed, tied in two places with cords like the foregoing, sealed on the lid with red sealing wax and two seals: the Great Seal of the Chemical Laboratory and a small special seal. In this condition the coffin was delivered to the Municipal Commission composed of Señors Dr. Don Manuel A. Fuentes and Don Froylan Miranda, who in turn placed it in the charge of the Venerable Metropolitan Chapter [Cabildo Metropolitano].

"The remains of clothing were enveloped first in a strong yellow-satin paper, then in a coarser dark wrapping paper, then packed in a cylindrical roll, bound with copper wire, sealed on the ends and the flap in red wax with the Great Seal of the Municipal Laboratory, and labeled. The pulverulent remains taken from the cavities of the body, the fragments of skin from the head, and the minute bits of muscle and membrane were deposited in an ordinary glass bottle with wide mouth, closed with cork. This was sealed with the same seal as the former, the mouth being further secured by a white hempen cord fastened to the neck, and the bottom was wrapped in a piece of white ruled paper folded over several times and attached to the neck of the flask with red wax, sealed with the center of the same seal of the laboratory, and also labeled. Both objects were delivered in this condition to the Commission.

"The present record was then drawn up in triplicate, in conformity with the last orders of the Alcaldia, on white paper belonging to the Municipal Chemical Laboratory of Lima, and signed by ourselves and the gentleman mentioned at the beginning, Señor A. B. Pretell, assistant of the laboratory, acting as secretary.

"Before proceeding to sign, the three members of the Royal Academy of History presented the following information, written by their dean, Señor Larrabure y Unánue, and affirmed by the gentlemen of the Academy, which, through the historical agreement with the foregoing anthropologic and anthropometric examination, sufficiently proves in their judgment the authenticity of the mortal remains of the Conquistador."

#### "'I.

"'The exhumation and study of the body of Francisco Pizarro, just 350 years from the time of the assassination of that immortal captain, are events of the greatest importance, for which we have just consecrated to them some lines while the ancient City of the Kings is feeling justly moved with such a motive, and at a time when the world, evoking the records of the discovery of America, is preparing to celebrate the fourth centennial of the wonderful achievement of Christopher Columbus, which opened to the Spaniards the gates of countries vast as they are rich.

"'In order to proceed methodically with this work, done with the rapidity which the time required, we must offer to the reader a true version of the assassination of the marquis, obtained from the best sources of information; next, proceed to determine the principal wounds which he received; then examine the body in order to determine whether the mortal remains presented to us are authentic, and whether the technical information given by the physicians agrees with the revelations of history.

### "'II. The Assassination.

"'It was the 26th of June, 1541. At nine o'clock in the morning the conspirators assembled in the house of Don Diego de Almagro. The clerk, Henao, had forewarned Pizarro of the peril he incurred, it having been told the former by one of the conspirators, Francisco de Herencia, who thought possibly that he had saved his soul from the pains of hell, having prepared for

the crime which he plotted by the taking of holy sacrament; but Pizarro, without attaching much importance to the warning, declared, "This clerk desires a bishopric," and taking no great precaution, merely refrained from going out to mass, hearing it in the palace instead.

- "'No care was taken to fasten the heavy door of the building, and while the lieutenant-governor, Doctor Juan de Velasquez, was assuring the Marquis that while he held "The rod of justice in his hand nobody would venture," the insurgents [los almagristas] invaded the court armed with coats of mail, breastplates and halberds, two cross-bows and an arquebus, uttering cries of "Live the king!" "Death to tyrants!"
- "'In the court there were five persons, and in the hall more than twenty; but almost all fled like cowards, including the Doctor, who, putting the rod of justice in his mouth, perhaps in order to keep his word about carrying it in his hand, jumped out of a window which opened into the yard. Others hid themselves under the beds or inside the wardrobes.
- "'Martinez de Alcantara and two attendants ran to defend the door of the hall; at the same time Francisco Pizarro, casting off the scarlet dressing gown which he wore, hastened to the inner apartment, and with a most resolute spirit, donned a breast-plate, clumsily fastening it himself, and, unsheathing his broadsword that had served him since the beginning of the conquest, said: "Come you here, my good sword, companion of my labors!"
- "'His brave defenders being dead or wounded, the group of infuriated assassins entered freely, encountering the Conquistador at the door of the dressing-room; there ensued a struggle as unequal as it was desperate; Pizarro received the thrusts on his cloak, which was wrapped around his left arm, at the same instant dealing mortal blows at his enemies. Frenzied at the delay, Juan de Rada, the chief of the assassins, seizing his companion Narvaez, cast him against the Marquis; the latter received him on his sword, thrusting his body through with it; but while he was striving quickly to dispatch his victim, he received a terrible wound in the neck and fell in a pool of blood.
- "'In an interesting document of the time at which these events occurred, we learn further that Pizarro received a wound in the breast made by a pasador, a sort of arrow very sharply pointed,

which has disappeared with the cross-bow;\* and other chroniclers assure us that as the body still breathed, although lying on the ground, the soldier Barragan gave it a severe blow in the head with a water jug which stood near.'

# "'III. Profanation of the Body.

"'The body remained on the ground while matters of state urgently called the chief conspirators to the city. There can be no doubt that some persons proposed immediately that the corpse should be dragged to the plaza, the head cut off and publicly exhibited on a gibbet; but this could not be accomplished in the excitement and alarm that arose throughout the city.

"'In fact, Don Garci Diaz, Bishop elect of Quito, earnestly opposed placing the body on the gallows. Captain Gomez de Alvarado went to the plaza with a lance in hand and manifested his indignation at the crime which had just been committed, censuring Juan de Rada for his conduct. The monks of the convent of La Merced produced the Holy Sacrament to prevent new crimes and robbery; but Captain Don Francisco Chavez went to intercept them and told them contemptuously: "Return, Fathers, to the church, for you have nothing to come out for." †

"'In the excitement of these moments there is little doubt in regard to the profanation of the corpse in the chamber where it lay abandoned. Pizarro was very severe in military discipline; and while the leaders were preparing a farce of government, the mortal remains of the Conquistador, with no guard to defend them, lay exposed to the vengeance of inferiors.

"'As our readers will see farther on, criminal amputation was performed on the body, and authentic documents exist confirming the truth of these observations.

"'In short, the manifestations of rage against the remains of Pizarro did not cease until the shades of night began to cast a veil over the scene, until a woman, the wife of Don Juan de Barragan, in company with him, the secretary, Lopez, and some Indians, mercifully wrapped the body in a white cloth and placed it in the vault beneath the church. Strange circumstance! There was not enough earth to entirely cover the tomb

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;'Letter of Vaca de Castro to the Emperor Don Carlos (Nov. 15, 1541),
†"'Cieza, Guerra de Chupas, cap. xxxii,

of a captain who had discovered such vast countries and had given such riches to the crown of Castile!\*

"'The foregoing statements are sufficient for our purpose.'

## "'IV. The Wounds.

- "'Entering now into an enumeration of the wounds and blows, we find: As the struggle culminating on the threshold of the dressing-room was comparatively open, since it is evident that Juan de Rada, on thrusting Narvaez upon Pizarro, exclaimed, "How slow this is!" it is undoubtedly true that the Marquis received the first wounds in the left arm, which, wrapped in his cloak, was serving him as a shield. Moreover, these are seen on the body which has just been exhumed.
- "'The principal wound was in the throat, according to the testimony of those who participated in the tragedy and all the early writers, and according to the technical report of Doctors Rios and Muñiz, there appears one, deep and destructive in the body, dissipating all doubt on that point. The tendons of this side of the neck have disappeared through putrefaction, showing the passage of the knife between two of the dorsal vertebræ; while the skin covers the face almost intact, uniting the head with the trunk.
- "'There do not exist any perfectly distinct marks of the blow given with the water jar, but it is supposed that this merely damaged the tissues without injuring the bone. The death of the Conquistador cannot be attributed to this blow, and it is accepted as an evident fact that the mortal wound was that in the neck. The thrust undoubtedly penetrated to the cerebral mass, which has entirely disappeared during the last 350 years.'

## "'V. The Head, Hands, Genital Organs.

- "'It is worthy of notice that, in spite of the great lapse of time, the body, straight, dry, and rigid, displays wonderful preservation.
- "'The head, adhering firmly to the body, although the contrary has erroneously been stated, reveals in its notable cerebral capacity a superior man.
- "'It is true the hands are lacking, but this loss does not date back to a remote period; according to public rumor they were taken off and carried out of the country not many years ago.

<sup>&</sup>quot;" And there was not even enough earth to finish covering his grave." (Obiedo, Historia General y Natural.)"

- "'Equally noticeable is the lack of the genital organs; but this defect, which scientific men have rightly assured us is as old as the date of death, we will explain in concluding.
- "'In a letter from the corporation of the city of Cuzco to the Emperor Don Carlos,\* relating these events. we see that the conspirators committed outrages on various persons "Who were found in the hall; that after the death of the Marquis, in order to dishonor and ridicule him, they committed upon his person many inhuman and infamous things, which, that your Majesty who mourns him may receive no further pain, we refrain from describing."
- "'What acts of ignominy, we ask, could have been perpetrated on the body of Pizarro of such a nature that the gentlemen of the corporation dared not report them in detail to his Imperial Majesty? And there arises another question, What was it that the soldiery did in similar cases when they were infuriated against the Indians or indeed against those of their own race?
- "'Therefore, whether or not the body of Pizarro was taken to the plaza before being buried, or, what is more probable, remained in the chamber at the palace, it is a fact that it was profaned, and that to this act of profanation should be logically attributed the absence of the organs of his sex.
- "'And hence the silence that has been preserved on this point by the chroniclers of the time should not be considered strange, interested as we may suppose the majority of them to have been in concealing their great crimes, especially against their own companions in arms who had given them glory and fortune.'

#### "'VI. The Back.

- "'It is no less important to observe in a body whose adhering skin and whose bones present marks of the wounds which Francisco Pizarro received, that the back appears uninjured.
- "'This discovery indeed reminds us of the attitude of the combatants in 1641 [sic; 1541]. The Marquis, assailed by the numbers of malevolents, closed the way into his chamber against them, attacking boldly and in front, like a lion; his back and posterior parts are therefore preserved unharmed, and his body bent only beneath the blow of a knife directed treacherously from one side.

<sup>&</sup>quot; '\* Cuzco, January 20, 1543."

"These facts, in which historic data and the remains of the Conquistador of Peru are in harmony, yield a new proof of his uprightness and valor, and are further eloquent proofs of the identity of the remains.'

# "'VII. Prognathism of the Chin.

- "'Another satisfactory feature of the body is the prognathism of the chin.
- "'We have compared the dead countenance with the best portraits which exist in Lima; and if we may be permitted to frankly express our opinion, so far as it is possible to reinvest a skull with the flesh and skin of life, the identity is complete.
- "'The strongly projecting chin indicates a persevering man, tenacious in his ideas; we see the lieutenant of Nuñez de Balboa who distinguished himself by cruelties to the poor Indians; who seized near Acla his own benefactor, the immortal discoverer of the Pacific, obeying the orders of the unforgetting and malicious Pedrarias: the captain of the "famous thirteen," who so heroically maintained himself in the midst of the disasters on the island of Gallo; and the conqueror of Atahualpa, who did not give up his designs even before the immense advantages of a victory as great as it was unexpected.
- "'This prognathism reveals much; and it is sufficient to identify the principal actor in the bloody tragedy enacted in the plaza of Cajamarca on the 16th of November, 1532.'

# "'VIII. Size, Feet, Age.

- "'The size of the body is the same as that given by the his-The stature of Pizarro has been somewhat exaggerated, because Almagro and the majority of those who were about him were small; but it may be affirmed that his figure was correctly proportioned, and that he was rather a well-formed and robust man, when we remember that more than once he carried his comrades during the fatiguing expeditions of discovery.
- "'His foot, endowed with a very high instep, like all of his conquering race, recalls the warrior indefatigable on the march, whether on the desert tracts of the coast or in the wilds of the Peruvian Cordillera.

"'As to his age, although at first there was great disagreement among the chroniclers, some giving it as 66 years, others 76; and although a relative of his (Pizarro y Orellana) states that he died at the age of 81, we have concluded, after carefully investigating the matter, that Don Francisco Pizarro was undoubtedly born at the beginning of 1471, and that consequently he was a little more than 70 years of age at the time of his death. We have discussed this matter in a separate work.'\*

# "'IX. Authenticity.

"'From the foregoing hasty examination results the complete authentication of the body from the point of view of historical proof. The doubts which have existed on this point—and it is unknown how and by whom they were initiated—are baseless and we can rest assured that, more fortunate in this than other cities, we possess the remains of the discoverer of our country and founder of the first Christian population.

"'Indeed, how would we account for the taking away by any one of the mortal remains, of which act it may be said in passing there is not the slightest tradition, and the replacing of them by another corpse and making thereon the identical wounds found on the original one? This is inconceivable. And with what object and how could such a fraud have been practiced, since the lens, analysis, and, above all, the trained and intelligent eye of the man of science could easily detect it, thanks to the progress which has been made in this respect in anthropologic knowledge? Have we not to-day powerful means for determining the age of a body, the period at which given wounds were received, the marks which indicate wounds and the effects of putrefaction, the physical conditions, and, further still, the virtues and infirmities which characterized this very man in life?

"'And in the case of Pizarro the conditions of the body agree so well with the facts of his history; the scars found on the body correspond so exactly with true records; more than all, the body has existed traditionally for such a long period here in our sight in the crypt of our Cathedral, undisturbed in its sheltered sepulcher by the turbulent civil wars with which our

<sup>&</sup>quot;"\* The principal historian of the conquest, Prescott, gives conflicting statements concerning the age of Pizarro in two passages of his work.

country has been torn, and whose echoes have died away in this subterranean vault, that we consider it absurd to retain the slightest doubt on this point.'

#### "X. Conclusion.

- "'Lima may, therefore, feel proud at the possession of so rich a treasure, and may pay the honors due to the Marquis Don Francisco. However great the defects of the discoverer of Peru, none can deny his exemplary perseverance, his heroic valor, and his true fatherly love for the city which grew from his planting.
- "'This body personifies a whole epic. It recalls a series of events which would seem to belong rather to the domain of fable than to that of history; his terrible struggles with the Indians and with the obstacles of nature in crossing the isthmus of Panama to open a passage to the South sea, enabling the Spaniards finally to transport their brigantines on their shoulders from one ocean to another; the heroic resolution taken by the "famous thirteen" on the island of Gallo; the discoveries and explorations from Tumbes to Cajamarca; the march of Hernando and a number of soldiers to the coveted Temple of Pachacámac; the bloody scene of Atahualpa, in which the empire was seized and overthrown; and, as the closing scene, the internecine wars which caused to fall beneath the sword the two brothers, as they were called in the times of their intimacy: Pizarro, crafty and domineering; Almagro, confiding and generous, victims both of their own audacity and lack of education.
- "'For the countries which stretch from Pasto to Tucuman and Patagonia, this body symbolizes, furthermore, the gradual and certain change, in which we are yet assisting, in the religion, languages, races, institutions, and customs of the powerful empire of the Incas.
- "'What various and what interesting memories of our life are to-day invoked by the body of Francisco Pizarro; the discovery, the conquest, the viceroyship!'

<sup>&</sup>quot;In Lima, at 10 o'clock a.m., on Wednesday, July 22, 1892, the gentlemen who have signed the above report and who formed the commission which had been previously appointed

to receive and exhume the remains of the conqueror of Peru and founder of Lima, Don Francisco Pizarro, and to prove his identity and state of preservation, assembled in the Cathedral for the purpose of removing the body from the temporary casket in which it had been deposited on the twenty-fourth of the preceding month, and placing it in the case destined to guard it for the future, arranged in the Chapel of the Kings of the Cathedral, under the care of the Venerable Metropolitan Chapter. On proceeding to the said chapel they found the temporary casket intact and just as it had been left on the 24th, with the same seals and bindings. The Municipal Commission likewise delivered up the bottle in which the cadaveric remains of the viscera had been temporarily placed, which, on being examined by Doctors Rios and Muñiz, was found in the same condition as when given to the said commission.

- "They then made the final removal in the following order:
- "1. The body of the Conqueror was taken from the casket and arranged in a case of white marble, with glass on three sides, reclining on a couch covered with cherry-covered cloth.
- "2. The glass bottle containing the pulverulent remains of the body was also deposited in a small crystal case with base and lid of white marble, this being in turn placed within the large case at the foot of the body.
- "3. One of the three copies of the present document (which is composed of thirty-six leaves [carillas útiles], containing an account of the ceremony of June 24, of the present year, and that of this date, both signed by the gentlemen mentioned at the beginning of the former) was also deposited within the large case, inclosed in a tube of tin washed with gold and sealed like the case (with a blank seal, oval in form, and containing the words "Honorable Municipality of Lima" on the circumference and the word "Alcaldia" in the center) on red wax; the second copy is to be placed in the archives of the Ecclesiastical Chapter, and the third in the archives of the Council. Thus terminates the record. [Signed:]

"Juan Revoredo, Manuel Aurelio Fuentes, Froylan Miranda, Eugenio Larrabure y Unánue, José Antonio de Lavalle, Ricardo Palma, Manuel Tovar, Julio Zárate, Faustino Mendez, Carlos Garcia Irigoyen, José A. de los Rios, Manuel A. Muñiz."